1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutoi putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahes* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tahuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(aku)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(koa fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Adoption Rites for Chiefs

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The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which, to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 349 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 476 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunono*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom [576] of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

● [431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed [562] in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke*, *haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to outstrip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The